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Agenda item 45
QUESTION OF CYPRUS

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-seventh year

Letter dated 1 October 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the letter addressed to you by Mr. Osman Ertuğ, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex would be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 45, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mustafa AKSIN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 1 October 1992 from Mr. Osman Ertuğ addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to bring to you attention the recent disclosure of the text of a letter addressed by Mr. George Vassiliou, the leader of the Greek Cypriot administration, to Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, leader of the Socialist EDEK Party in South Cyprus, on the eve of the Greek Cypriot elections in 1988. This disclosure has been made by the Greek Cypriot daily Eleftherotipia in its issue of 12 September 1992.

In this letter, the text of which is attached as appendix I, Mr. Vassiliou, who was then a candidate for the presidency of the Greek Cypriots, gives assurances to Dr. Lyssarides that, if elected, his policy regarding the Cyprus issue would be the same as that of the "rejectionists", who are known as such for their opposition to a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question.

He also states that it would be wrong to assume that the Cyprus "problem can be settled by bringing about a theoretical solution to the constitutional and territorial issues" and vows to reinforce the Greek Cypriot military capability in order to gain a position of advantage vis-à-vis the Turkish Cypriots at the negotiations.

In response to criticism by EDEK that Mr. Vassiliou has not remained faithful to the commitments he made in that letter, the Spokesman for the Greek Cypriot administration, Mr. Akis Fandis, issued a statement on 15 September 1992 (text attached as appendix II) in which he states that "the President has remained committed to all the fundamental views he indicated in the letter in question and turned these views into political action ... The joint evaluations regarding the President's attitude during the New York talks constitute more fresh proof of this."

During his term of office since 1988, Mr. Vassiliou has indeed remained faithful to the commitments he had made to the rejectionists and has been spending an average of one million dollars a day on rearmament. He has persistently refused to make a positive contribution to the negotiating process, which has continued thanks to the positive contributions of the Turkish Cypriot side.

In view of the fact that the rejectionists are adamantly opposed to the "set of ideas" and a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question, the statement made by the Greek Cypriot Spokesman is revealing. The clear meaning of this is that Mr. Vassiliou, with different tactics, is pursuing the same objectives as the rejectionists. It also explains the reason for the difficulties being encountered in the negotiating process.

In the final analysis, both Mr. Vassiliou's letter and the statement of his Spokesman demonstrate how far the Greek Cypriot side is from a viable and just solution in Cyprus, based on the political equality of the two communities. They clearly demonstrate that the Greek Cypriot side's real objective is to bring about a solution based on Greek Cypriot domination on the island.

I would be grateful if this letter and its annexes were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 45, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Osman ERTUĞ
Representative
Turkish Republic of
Northern Cyprus

APPENDIX I

Text of a letter addressed to Dr. Vassos Lyssarides by Mr. George Vassiliou in 1988 (Greek Cypriot Daily "Eleftherotipia" of 12 September 1992)

Dear Vassos,

I am sending you my fundamental views on Cyprus (attached), which I prepared after our meeting last Sunday. No doubt my views on and approach to the Cyprus issue are the same as yours. I am sure that both you and EDEK will find them worthy of supporting. As I have told you before, I am personally expecting both your and EDEK's assistance, support and close cooperation. Therefore, I would like to reiterate what I have repeatedly stated in the past. The struggle carried out in the past, your and EDEK's struggle, forms the mainstay of what I shall do for the homeland. In the light of these facts, I hope that EDEK will decide to support my candidacy, which will start a new cooperation in our country.

I would like to take the opportunity to salute the EDEK strugglers and to express my feelings to them for their struggle when we take this decision (and I do hope that you will). Apart from this, I shall take the opportunity to say that I shall implement my election manifesto without any deviation.

Yours respectfully

George VASSILIOU

ATTACHMENT

Fundamental views on the Cyprus issue

The Cyprus problem primarily is a question of Turkey's attack on Cyprus and invasion of part of its territory, which was undoubtedly made possible by foreign powers, and the coup, which constituted a betrayal.

The way to solve the Cyprus problem:

The solution of the Cyprus problem will be based on United Nations resolutions and 1977 Makarios-Denktas and 1979 Kyprianu-Denktas agreements, and it should guarantee Cyprus' independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment. More clearly, in order for it to be accepted as a solution it should constitute the following:

1. Turkish troops and every kind of military equipment and settlers must leave the island before the establishment of the provisional government.

2. The free movement, settlement and the right to property of all citizens and the right of all refugees to return to their homes must be guaranteed.

3. Strong international guarantees which eliminate unilateral intervention must be secured.

The Method:

The three fundamental issues which I mentioned above should be put forward within the framework of their meanings stated below:

1. A solution of the Cyprus problem can not be considered until these fundamental issues are solved. It will be a tragic mistake if the belief is created that the problem can be settled by a theoretical solution to the constitutional and territorial issues if all the invading forces have not left, the right of return of all refugees has not been guaranteed and the three basic freedoms have not been guaranteed.

2. These basic issues should be part of at all of our diplomatic and enlightenment efforts. World public opinion and the important centres which shape international public opinion should be constantly enlightened about these basic issues. Thus, Turkey's expansionism and intransigence will constantly be revealed, and, apart from this, constant pressure on Turkey will be demanded. Thus the cost of the invasion of Cyprus territory will be made heavier.

3. These basic issues should always be put forward and should constitute the first issue of any talks at every negotiating procedure.

4. In order for any negotiating procedure to be possible it should envisage the solution of all the elements mentioned above. No agreement should be signed until the three basic issues of the Cyprus problem have been solved. Proper preliminary work should be carried out for any negotiating procedure, and suitable time should be allowed for its completion.

5. Within the framework of this method, our insistence on the implementation of Security Council resolution 550 (1984) and all United Nations resolutions will be unwavering.

6. We shall work actively for the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations to settle the international aspects of the Cyprus problem, and we shall try to evaluate the proposals of the Soviet Union.

7. The strengthening of our defence to deter Turkey from a new attack and to strengthen our position at the talks is the most important issue to which precedence should be given. The Defence Minister should have the trust of everyone and, together with the Parliamentary Defence Committee and experts, will prepare an overall plan for the strengthening of the effective defence of the island.

The contribution of all the people and the reserves, in particular, to the defence will be evaluated within the framework of the morale of the people and the preparedness of the army. Within this framework, the fragmentation of the members of the Greek Cypriot National Guard in accordance with their political views must be ended.

8. The basic condition for the success of our struggle is stable and good cooperation with the Greek Government. Apart from this, the securing of the support and solidarity of the Greek Government and people is needed.

Unity:

The execution of our anti-invasion struggle will only be possible with the utmost unity of the people and the leadership. Unity is the basic condition. This is how it will be achieved:

With the unity of the people, a good administration based on capability, stable development and social solidarity, unity will be ensured at the grassroots and discriminatory attitudes which divide the people will be halted.

The unity of the political leadership will be based on two principles:

(a) A Government which will be established with the participation of individuals from all ideological sectors who will be acceptable to everyone;

(b) As stated in the election manifesto, the composition of the National Council will be decided on after contacts with political leaders.

Within the framework of the implementation of our anti-invasion struggle, the utmost duty of the Government will be to create respect and pride in the existence of our state in Cyprus and our Hellenic roots. Apart from this, it will be our duty to show respect for the national identity and culture of the other national community and groups in Cyprus. All this will be carried out through educational and cultural activities and through mass media channels.

George VASSILIOU

APPENDIX II

Greek Cypriot Spokesman's reply to EDEK

The Spokesman for the Greek Cypriot Administration in South Cyprus, Mr. Akis Fandis, issued a statement on 15 September referring to the disclosure of a letter addressed in 1988, on the eve of the second round of the Greek Cypriot presidential elections, by Mr. George Vassiliou to EDEK's leader, Dr. Vassos Lyssarides. Mr. Fandis categorically denied EDEK's allegations that Mr. Vassiliou did not keep the promises he had made prior to the elections.

The Spokesman said:

"President Vassiliou has kept all the promises he made, included in his election declaration. He especially kept his promises regarding the national cause. The President has remained committed to all the fundamental views he indicated in the letter in question and turned these views into political action. Decisions taken unanimously by the National Council, especially those taken in December 1988 regarding the targets of our struggle, the proposals we made in January 1989 regarding the targets of our struggle and the proposals we made in January 1989 based on these decisions are a proof of this. The joint evaluations regarding the President's attitude during New York talks constitute more fresh proof of this.

"Therefore, it can be said that the publishing of the letter has been a positive move because, in this way, it has been proven that the deeds and words of President Vassiliou concerning the national cause are in congruence."

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Forty-seventh session
Agenda item 123

FINANCING OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY IN CAMBODIA

Letter dated 2 October 1992 from the Head of State and President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia addressed to the Secretary-General

Since I am at present unwell and must therefore, with very great regret, forgo attending the General Assembly to make my statement, I am transmitting to you herewith the text of the statement and would request you to have it circulated to the delegations of States Members of our august Organization on 7 October 1992 as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 123.

(Signed) Norodom SIHANOUK

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Annex

STATEMENT BY H.R.H. PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK, HEAD OF STATE AND PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CAMBODIA, TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT ITS FORTY-SEVENTH SESSION

Mr. President,

It is a real pleasure for me to begin my statement by offering you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to your office to guide the work of the General Assembly during the current session. Your election is a well-deserved tribute to your firm commitment and that of the people of Bulgaria to democracy, freedom and peace. In the current international situation, dominated as it is by the struggle for the attainment of those noble ideals, the work of our august Assembly under your presidency cannot fail to be crowned with success.

I should like to pay a sincere and warm tribute to His Excellency Mr. Samir S. Shihabi, who with his tact, dynamism and diplomatic experience successfully guided the work of the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session.

Mr. Secretary-General,

In nine months of untiring activity during your important, difficult and delicate missions, you have demonstrated in a remarkable manner that you have the vision and the pragmatism which the United Nations needs in these complicated times, now and in the future, as your illustrious predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, so rightly said. Your initiatives and actions in the many areas in which the United Nations is discharging its mandate and the analyses and proposals set forth in your brilliant report entitled "Agenda for peace" testify to this. In particular, in connection with the implementation of the Peace Agreements in Cambodia, you have always expressed sentiments of sincere and solid friendship towards my country and my people and firm support for the cause of peace in independence, democracy and territorial integrity. Cambodia and its people express their profound admiration and gratitude to you, as well as their firm support for your noble efforts to safeguard international peace and security on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations, which has lost none of its force and relevance. The fact that 13 new Member States were admitted to membership in the United Nations this year confirms this. On behalf of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, I am happy to extend a heartfelt welcome to all these new Members and to declare that Cambodia and its people are committed to establishing and maintaining good relations with them in all areas.

* * *

Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

After two decades of unspeakable suffering and misery resulting from two long wars (1970-1975, 1979 and 1990) and a tragic intervening period, my little country, Cambodia, a full Member of the United Nations since 1955, is at last finding peace once again in freedom and national unity. This peace for which the Cambodian people have so yearned was established by the Paris Agreements of 23 October 1991. It is the culmination of the noble efforts made by the United Nations and its Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, by the Governments of friendly countries, in particular France and its President, His Excellency Mr. François Mitterrand, and Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Roland Dumas, Indonesia and its President, His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Alatas, the other States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Australia, Japan, the People's Republic of China and other friendly countries and Governments.

Following the signature at Paris on 23 October 1991 of the Paris Agreements relating to my country, the United Nations and its eminent Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, nobly and generously decided to send to Cambodia a large number of peace-keeping forces and key personnel to help the Cambodian people to provide the best administration for their homeland, manage its affairs in all areas correctly and work successfully towards the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country. This United Nations operation is unprecedented in its scope, involving as it does a huge investment in terms of both human and material and financial, as well as other resources.

My people and I express to them our deepest gratitude and admiration.

We know that the international press and various international circles have for some time now spoken of a "bad situation" in Cambodia and even of setbacks in the implementation "in the field" of the Paris Agreements of 23 October 1991.

It is, of course, true that, if in a given country one seeks above all to emphasize the imperfections of its régime and to bring out only the negative aspects of its situation, one can always demonstrate that the country is seriously "sick" and that those responsible for its national affairs are to blame.

It is thus easy, in the case of Cambodia, to regard it, once again, as "incurably sick".

The reality, however, does not altogether correspond to such a pessimistic description.

In the first place, mention should be made of the impressive and effective work of His Excellency Mr. Yasushi Akashi, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of our august Organization, and of his collaborators in UNTAC, both men and women, civilian and military, at all levels, in all sectors and in all cities and provinces of Cambodia, with the valuable cooperation of the representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council, of Indonesia, Japan, Australia, Germany, Thailand and other countries, and the many forms of assistance provided by various organizations, associations, humanitarian aid agencies and other bodies.

There is close and fruitful cooperation between the Supreme National Council (SNC) of Cambodia and the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). All the proposals, decisions and plans proposed by His Excellency Mr. Yasushi Akashi on behalf of UNTAC have been adopted by me on behalf of SNC and subsequently implemented.

Unfortunately, there have been a few violations of the cease-fire, acts of banditry and some cases of murder, but, on the whole, peace throughout the Khmer land is no less real and there is no prospect of a return to war in Cambodia. Thus, for several months now, we have witnessed an unprecedented development of tourism and of the market economy, including an increase in the number of airlines linking Cambodia to the outside world and of movements by foreign ships in out of the ports of Sihanoukville and Phnom Penh, and an increase in investments by several countries in various sectors of the economy.

As far as the rehabilitation of my people and the reconstruction of my country are concerned, I have had the privilege, during these 11 months, of inaugurating a considerable number of primary, middle and secondary schools and institutes, hospitals, infirmaries, surgical units, centres for aid to the handicapped, maternity clinics, paediatric units, orphanages, roads, bridges, reservoirs to supply water for the cultivation of rice, and so on. This is evidence of the progress achieved as a result of the restoration of peace, the efforts and sacrifices of the Cambodians and the generous and very friendly assistance provided by affluent countries and peoples and by associations or humanitarian aid groups, to which I wish once again to pay a warm tribute.

* * *

Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The members of SNC and of the political parties in my country have unanimously decided to make Cambodia a liberal democracy with a pluralistic political system and a free press (including a free non-Cambodian press), a market economy and free enterprise, and recognition and respect for all accepted world religions and for the beliefs of the various ethnic groups in Cambodia.

At the present time, apart from the four major parties whose leaders are members of the Supreme National Council (SNC), a dozen other political parties have emerged, as well as a number of associations for the protection of the human rights and freedoms of Cambodia's citizens, both men and women.

From the age of 18, my compatriots of both sexes, including the military and members of religious orders, have the right to vote. From the age of 21, they have the right to stand for parliament.

As for human rights, SNC has signed six conventions in this area, namely those relating to fundamental freedoms, universal human rights, the prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, the rights of the child, and the status of refugees.

We have already released all prisoners of conscience, political prisoners and prisoners of war. We have released, and will continue to release, ordinary criminals who have not committed unpardonable offences and whose conduct in prison has been good.

In this connection, I should like, in particular, to thank the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for its crucial support of my actions. Moreover, my cooperation with Amnesty International is well established and effective. I should also like to thank the people of Cambodia for their good will.

The repatriation of my compatriots who are refugees in Thailand and elsewhere is taking place smoothly, and they are being reintegrated into Cambodian society in their homeland with the extremely dedicated help of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and her dedicated representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, together with his admirable team, and the active support of the Cambodian Red Cross, Cambodian government agencies and foreign humanitarian assistance agencies and groups, to whom I once again pay a tribute. Foreign assistance for the rehabilitation of the Cambodian people and the reconstruction of Cambodia is increasing even as the number of embassies and other diplomatic posts in Cambodia grows.

The Tokyo Ministerial Conference on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia is providing US$ 880 million for this noble purpose, as compared with the anticipated $600 million, offering eloquent testimony not only to the exceptional goodwill and generosity of donor countries and agencies but also to their confidence in Cambodia's current situation and future.

I have also had the honour, on behalf of the SNC, to sign assistance agreements with France, the United States of America, Japan, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNESCO, other friendly countries and international agencies, agreements which are of importance to my country, our nation, our people and the leadership of the Cambodian factions that have agreed to implement all provisions of the Paris Agreements of 23 October 1991.

However, as they say, every rose has its thorns. The position adopted by one of the Cambodian factions is increasingly disturbing in the light of the interpretation given by UNTAC to certain paragraphs or points of the Paris Agreements, as is this faction's refusal, and its explanations thereof, to join the other factions in implementing the Agreements.

In this connection, His Excellency Mr. Yasushi Akashi has continued to report on the matter to His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, our illustrious Secretary-General, who is sure to bring the matter before the Security Council of our august Organization in due course.

For my part, since resuming the leadership of the Khmer State and the Cambodian nation, I have continued actively to serve the cause of national reconciliation and to give my full support to all decisions taken in the context of the Paris Agreements by the United Nations, its Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Akashi and UNTAC for the good of my people and my homeland.

In my capacity as legal Head of the Cambodian State and President of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, I support and shall support all decisions concerning my country taken by the General Assembly, the Security Council or the Secretary-General of the United Nations, hoping meanwhile that things will be done calmly and with typical Cambodian patience rather than with impatience, which runs counter to the somewhat stoic philosophy of the Khmer people.

* * *

Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In this final decade of our century, we all live in a world marked by profound change. From the ashes of the cold war is emerging a new order whose outlines, not to mention its structures, cannot yet be fully discerned. The terms of our global equation have been changed, leading to new definitions of friendship and alliances, cooperation and economic relations, geopolitical interests. A global balance has yet to be struck, for today's world is no less unstable than yesterday's.

An initial and happy discovery is that the collapse of ideological barriers, which brought the bipolar world to an end, has made it possible to replace confrontation with negotiation, to solve certain world problems and to glimpse the beginnings of solutions to others.

In the Middle East, the negotiation process has managed to overcome intransigence and confrontation. The talks taking place among all the parties concerned lead one to hope that, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), they will culminate in a general settlement of the problem of the Middle East, the crux of which is the problem of Palestine, a

settlement that will guarantee the rights of all States and peoples of the region, including Palestine and Israel, to live in peace and stability within their universally recognized borders.

In South Africa, the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres have been universally condemned. The South African Government must take the necessary steps to put an end to all acts of violence and intimidation so that the negotiation process may continue within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which has as its objective the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

In Korea, the wise and patriotic proposals of President Kim Il Sung have led to talks and meetings at various levels between the two Korean parties, which have resulted in the launching of cooperation and understanding that are certain to further the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean homeland. We can only encourage this process.

Yet, even as these conflicts abate, new ones, no less bloody and complex, are emerging, brought on by the very crumbling of the old order.

In particular, the long and bloody tragedy which continues to ravage the peoples of the former federated States of the now riven Yugoslavia causes us Cambodians moral and psychic grief, for we have always been close to them and have ourselves endured, for more than two decades, similar misfortunes and suffering. From the bottom of our hearts we hope that equitable solutions may be swiftly found and that a new era of understanding and mutual respect for the right of each people to determine its own destiny may dawn at last.

Elsewhere, the vanishing of the bipolar world has brought to the forefront global problems which continue to threaten the peace, security, equilibrium and well-being of our planet. These include the equitable development of the world economy in order to eliminate the ever-widening gap between the North and the South; the famine which continues to rage cruelly in several parts of the world; endless flows of refugees; the environment; drugs; and diseases such as AIDS ...

The terrible famine which is afflicting the Somali people offers a striking example of a problem that can be alleviated only through generous international solidarity, while the assistance of the international community will also be required to extinguish the civil war which is its cause and is devastating the country. With the end of bipolarization, international cooperation has become the key to solving all world problems. More than ever before, in such an interdependent world, this cooperation will be productive only if it is based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Be they large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, all States are sovereign, all countries and peoples have the right to enjoy a secure future in conditions of freedom, equality, social justice and full respect for human rights, and to benefit from scientific and technological progress within the framework of equitable global economic development that benefits everyone,

West and East as well as North and South. These are the vital underpinnings of the maintenance and strengthening of regional and international peace, security and stability. Nowhere but in the United Nations can such international cooperation be exercised fully. The United Nations is the world Organization which serves peace and development, and is thus an indispensable institution in the search for solutions to world problems.

We are delighted to see the United Nations more active than ever and its areas of endeavour more numerous and vast. Never since its creation has it been given so many mandates to administer peace-keeping operations on all continents.

The international conferences organized by the United Nations, at which our planet's global problems are debated, constitute the best forums for the search for global solutions.

The "Earth Summit", held recently at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, is one example. While it is unfortunate that no timetable for action was defined and no commitment was secured for the financing of Agenda 21, the Conference nevertheless had the merit of highlighting the vital importance of the environment for mankind and stressing the need for everyone to work to create a new, more equitable international order.

It is in this spirit that we welcome the convening of a world summit for social development and the proposal by the Secretary-General to convene an international conference on the financing of development. Likewise, we hope that the World Conference on Human Rights, to be held next year, and the International Conference on Population and Development, to be held in 1994, will help to find solutions to problems which challenge all mankind.

Surely, all these activities, which have expanded considerably since the end of the cold war, place a heavy burden on the current structures and capacity of the United Nations. Yet we place our full confidence in our Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who in his remarkable report on the work of the Organization has pledged that "a fundamental renewal of the United Nations will be complete by the time it marks its first half-century of existence".

Cambodia, a small State and a poor one because of 20 years of war and upheaval, has no other recourse but the United Nations and no other support and consolation but its Charter.

I thank you for your kind attention.